1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga. Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei, who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Nuha snatched up the late king's adopted son, (a child of three years old,) whom he was desirous of saving, and rushed out of the house as the guards of Finow rushed in, when speedy death silenced the screams of those who a little before lay reposed in the arms of sleep.

The two chiefs and their followers betook themselves, as quickly as possible, to Hahagi, the northern part of the island. Early in the morning confusion and dismay reigned in the island of Tonga—men and women ran they knew not whither, unknowing whether to join this party or that—old men were seen making speeches to the people, encouraging them to avenge the death of their chief:—the numerous relations and friends of the deceased king ran about beating their breasts and weeping:—shells were heard blowing in every quarter, as the signals of war and disturbance,—here to assemble the friends of the late How*,—there to summon together the partisans of liberty.

Finow and Toobó Nuha, in the course of a few hours, assembled together a considerable number of adherents, with whom, after having launched their canoes in case their retreat from the island should be necessary, they proceeded to Hihifo (the place where the How was killed). When they arrived here, their first concern was

* King.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

kept up a considerable time*. The dancing being over, one of the old matabooles addressed the company, making a moral discourse on the subject of chastity,—advising the young men to respect, in all cases, the wives of their neighbours, and never to take liberties even with an unmarried woman against her free consent. The company then rose, and dispersed to their respective homes. The bride was not present at this entertainment. Tooitonga being arrived at his house, sent for the bride, who immediately obeyed the summons. The moment they retired together the lights were extinguished, and a man, appointed at the door for the purpose, announced it to the people by three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,) which he followed up immediately by the loud and repeated sound of the conch.

* Their dances have already been described by Captain Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the second volume.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

allotment is made once a year, just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of maturity; those which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being planted sooner than others, and, consequently, they are the first fruits of the yam season. The object of this offering is to insure the protection of the gods, that their favour may be extended to the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular to the productions of the earth, of which yams are the most important.

The time for planting most kinds of yams is about the latter end of July, but the species called *caho-caho*, which is always used in this ceremony, is put in the ground about a month before, when, on each plantation, there is a small piece of land chosen and fenced in, for the purpose of growing a couple of yams of the above description. As soon as they have arrived at a state of maturity, the *How* sends a messenger to Tooitonga, stating that the yams for the *inachi* are fit to be taken up, and requesting that he would appoint a day for the ceremony: he generally fixes on the tenth day afterwards, reckoning the following day for the first. There are no particular preparations made till the day before the ceremony: at night, however, the sound of the conch is heard occasionally in different parts of the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 islands, and as the day of the ceremony ap-
796 proaches it becomes more frequent, so that the
244 people of almost every plantation sound the
[202] conch three or four times, which, breaking in upon the silence of the night, has a pleasing effect, particularly at Vavaoo, where the number of woods and hills send back repeated echoes,
[824] adding greatly to the effect. The day before the ceremony, the yams are dug up, and ornamented with a kind of ribbons prepared from the inner membrane of the leaf of a species of pandanus, and died red *; when thus prepared, it is called *mellecoola*, and is wrapped round the yam, beginning at one end, and running round spirally to the other, when it is brought back in the opposite direction, the turns crossing each
651 other in a very neat manner. As the ceremony
796 is always performed at the island where Tooitonga chooses to reside, the distant islands must make these preparations two or three days beforehand, that the yams, &c. may be sent in time to Vavaoo, where we will suppose the affair is to take place. The ninth day then

* It is first soaked for six or eight hours in lime water, and afterwards in an infusion of the root of the *nonó*, where it remains for about a week; it is afterwards exposed to the sun, and becomes of a bright red: the root of the *nonó* is of a dark bright yellow, which, upon the action of lime water, becomes red.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

is employed in preparing and collecting the yams and other provisions, such as fish, cava root, and *mahoá*, and getting ready mats, *gnatoo*, and bundles of *mellecoola:* but the yams only are to be carried in the procession about to be described.

The sun has scarcely set when the sound of the conch begins again to echo through the island, increasing as the night advances. At the Mooa, and all the plantations, the voices of men and women are heard singing *Nófo óooa tegger gnaoóe, óooa gnaoóe,* Rest thou, doing no work; thou shalt not work. This increases till midnight, men generally singing the first part of the sentence, and the women the last, to produce a more pleasing effect: it then subsides for three or four hours, and again increases as the sun rises. Nobody, however, is seen stirring out in the public roads till about eight o'clock, when the people from all quarters of the island are seen advancing towards the Mooa, and canoes from all the other islands are landing their men; so that all the inhabitants of Tonga seem approaching by sea and land, singing and sounding the conch. At the Mooa itself the universal bustle of preparation is seen and heard; and the different processions entering from various quarters, of men and women, all dressed up in new *gnatoos*, ornamented with

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugonagaboola had been assassinated. They were arrayed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some with only the maro, with black faces and disfigured limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied together, rising from the crown of the head, like a soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteemed their warfare mere child's play. It was determined to proceed against the district of Aheefo, which was small in comparison of the rest; and to make an attack upon it at the same time, both by land and sea, with all our forces. The next morning therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal army, of which I was one, marched forward about seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks, a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say, fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the established church (both of these sharks are looked upon as tribute indirectly to royalty—to the representative of royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the remainder are divided among the households of the village. A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions. If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu* is considered lifted from the house. If some small object has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedition in every particular. The months from September to February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(pola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

The village overseer, the school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles back to their household through gifts to close relatives. Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from one feast may actually change hands several times before it is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will produce greater changes in village life than the accumulation of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

In considering the various aspects of craft-activities and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance, few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea, noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European residents, "Well, what can you expect from ignorant foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment of the Free Church, there was much downright physical suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit. Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor. Protestant congregations seem more generally to use benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits "hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

799 in having glazed windows and doors; and in being divided, by reed partitions, into the various apartments necessary for an English family. Mr. Thomas [643] informed us of the recent death of the Rev. Francis Wilson at Vavau, and also of the death of Tubou, the King of Tonga, to whom a successor had been appointed in the person of George Taufaahao, King of Haabai and Vavau.

501 On the 20th of June, 1846, the day succeeding our 643 landing, we witnessed the arrival of the royal fleet 541 from the northern islands, to which King George had gone, on a state visit, immediately after his grand inauguration to office in Tonga.

[202] About noon the lively beating of wooden drums, and the ceaseless shouts of the excited people, announced the appearance of the fleet, as we hastened to the beach. Fourteen large canoes were shortly in sight; but the breeze being very light, three hours elapsed before the foremost one reached the offing. We had thus plenty of time to watch all the movements of the strange vessels before us. The peculiar shape of their sails gave one the idea of so many balloons skimming along the surface of the sea. It seemed that several of the vessels had outsailed that of the king; because, when about two miles from the shore, they severally tacked about, forming two lines between which the royal canoe advanced first to the shore. According to [576] Tonguese etiquette it would have been an unpardonable offence for any vessel of the fleet to have preceded that of the king to the shore.

501 Each of the canoes in sight would carry about one hundred or one hundred and fifty persons, and it may be well, before proceeding further, to describe one of them once for all.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

white cowry, *Ovulum ovum*, and a smaller one of the same family, the *Ovulum verrucosum* of conchologists. The former is employed in decorating the prows of canoes, and also the projecting ends of the outer ridge-pole of houses. The latter are strung into armlets or necklaces. All the other representatives of the cowry family, though numerous, are also found in abundance, but are not devoted to any useful purposes.

There are several extensive beds of the pearl oyster; but these have never been cultivated, nor has any pearl fishery been established. The natives do not obtain the oyster for the sake of the pearls; but merely as an edible. These, however, are frequently met with, and are usually of good quality and lustre. We have ourselves taken as many as seventeen pearls, three of which were of moderate size, out of one small oyster. There is no doubt but that, with proper attention, these pearl oyster beds would prove a valuable source of revenue to the people. The largest of the shells are cut up, and ingeniously fashioned into a great variety of native fishing-hooks; while in other cases the shell is highly polished, and worn as a breastplate.

The trumpet shell, (*Triton variegatus*,) is, as the name indicates, made by the natives into horns or trumpets. These are used chiefly in canoes, when voyaging, to give warning of their departure or arrival. The only preparation of the shell consists in drilling a small hole through the spiral end. The sound of a good one may be heard at a distance of several miles. In the event of a sudden squall, driving any small fishing canoes far away from the land, it is usual for the friends of the missing ones to man several canoes, and to start

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

237 534 202 off in different directions, sounding these trumpet-shells, for the warning and guidance of the lost fishermen, should they have survived the storm.

226 262 A goodly variety of the more common edible shell-fish, supplies the natives with one of their principal daily articles of diet. Cockles and whelks are plentiful, in some localities, and are cooked in a variety of ways, so as to be made very palatable even to an epicure.

Crustaceous animals, such as shrimps, prawns, cray-fish, lobsters, and crabs, are abundant in different islands, and they are sought after and esteemed by the natives as articles of food. Several sorts of sea-slugs are also eaten, and among these the *bêche-de-mer* of commerce; but it is only found in small quantities, and of inferior size to those so largely obtained in Fiji. The cuttle-fish, or *feke*, as it is called in Tonguese, so despised by the fishermen on our English coasts, is by them very highly esteemed. Indeed, a dish of *vaihu feke*, or cuttle-fish soup, well prepared by a Tonguese cook, would [252] make even a Soyer envious, and would, undoubtedly, call forth a whole chapter of flowery eloquence fully to describe its merits.

A great variety of fish contributes extensively to the daily support of the islanders. Of the larger sorts that are eaten by them, we may name the albicore, bonito, ray, sword-fish, and shark. There is, besides, a good assortment of rock-fish. These 226 different kinds of fish are taken by lines, nets, and spearing, in all of which modes of fishing the people are ingenious and expert. The favourite method, however, with the Tonguese, is that of fishing with nets. In the manufacture of different descriptions of these, they equal any civilized

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

tain kept the people in awe, and for a time no signs of the coming change could be seen. 797 634

At length two men, called Faone and Lube, yielded to their convictions, and avowed themselves Christians. They knew full well the risk that was incurred, but, in dependence upon Divine aid, they made the venture; and were prepared for encountering cheerfully all hazards. With no Missionary near them, nor any Christian teacher, to give them advice or shelter; these men stand out from the thousands of heathens around them, and in the face of an angry monarch, proclaim themselves followers of Jesus Christ. What a triumph, and how glorious were its results!

They were immediately summoned to the presence of the chief, and with many threats were commanded to desist from prayer. They knew not but that the club of their autocrat master would lay them in the dust; but they, nevertheless, boldly refused to recant from the religious profession they had made. Happily the wrath of the heathen was partially restrained. The persons of these two men were not touched, but they were forcibly driven away, from lands, and wives, and friends. Meantime the islands of Haabai had received the Gospel, and thither, therefore, Faone and Lube went for safety. There also the heathen greatly persecuted them; but they remained steadfast through it all. They were proof against open persecution, but would they equally resist bribery, and bland persuasions, to deny their Heavenly Lord and Master? Let us see. 797 798

The arrival at Haabai of a canoe from Vavau is heralded by the rapid roll of the wooden drums. Part of its business is to bring a message from the offended Ulukalala to Faone and Lube. They are 797 634 [202] [534] [203]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

grounds. While standing at the mouth of the cave, I picked up a beautiful harp-shell, which species, I was told, was formerly worshipped by the people of Makave, a village only a few miles from this place. 000 797 [825]

Sunday, 27th.—Departed in the boat, about an hour before daylight, on a tour to all the out-islands of this group, to preach, and meet the church members, this being the time of quarterly visitation. We passed through the beautiful boat passage at Bagaimctu just as the sun rose. The scenery appeared most enchanting in the calmness and light of the morning. We reached Oloua about 7 A.M., and immediately after landing beat the *lali*, or wooden drum, for Divine service. I afterwards spoke individually to each of the members. About mid-day we sailed to Ofu. Having preached, I met all the male members. Held a public prayer-meeting in the evening by lamp light. [202] [534]

Monday, 28th.—Neither my boatmen nor myself obtained much sleep, although greatly needed after yesterday's work. Beat the *lali* at sun-rise to assemble the female members of society, and spoke to them individually as their state seemed to require. I must here observe that, although in all the classes I observed a great sameness of experience and expression, there can be no mistake as to the real conversion of numbers of the people. Still, many have the form without the power, and we certainly want more heart-work among our native converts. At the conclusion of the classes, we held a short public prayer-meeting. Before leaving for the next place, this affectionate people brought us tangible expressions of their love, in the shape of baked pigs, yams, oil, and sugar-cane, for the use of myself and boatmen. A portion of

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Tobutabu] 131 114

from the usual tracks of navigation. The charts are often at fault, both as to the locality and names of many islands.

The day being fine, we experienced very little difficulty in landing. We were met by the chief teacher, and a number of the people, with whom we set off across the sands. The walk was rather fatiguing; but we arrived safely at the town, and were immediately conducted to Maatu, styled Tui-Niua, or King of Niua. The remarkably narrow limits of his dominions evidently never troubled his mind, or distressed those of his subjects. The humblest of the company present moved along with a natural dignity and grace, that any courtier or monarch might have envied. We have already had occasion also to show that, although few in number, and a "feeble folk" in many respects, yet these Niuans were not wanting in stirring enterprise or true courage.

797 [634]

Even before we reached the town, the great wooden drums had been sounding, to give notice of our arrival, and to summon the entire population from their daily occupations, in preparation for the various religious services about to be held. There being no safe anchorage off the island, the visits of the Missionaries are necessarily very brief; while such a multiplicity of onerous duties devolve upon the visitors, that the greatest expedition must be observed, and they can scarcely find time either to eat or sleep.

[202] [534]

Let us look for a moment at the work to be done. No visit from a Missionary had been received by Niua Tobutabu for several years. The attempt had been made in the previous year, but failed through the violence of the sea and wind. The doings therefore of the teachers over a considerable period of time had to be reviewed. The lists of church members

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

798 669 728 the men to be detained within his own camp during the night, where they received the most hospitable entertainment. But what formed the crowning glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 669 727 728 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of their property should be destroyed or injured. At the same time, the town was to be held by a party of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

797 On the following Sunday, I visited the fort, arrangements having been made for holding a religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley [202] [534] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 669 726 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still

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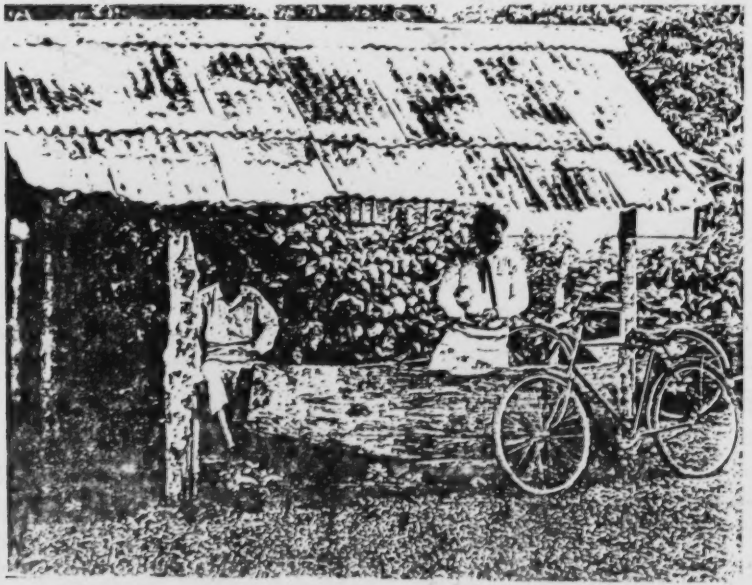
946
429

Enormous, hollow, wooden drums, *lali*, like the one pictured here, were used in the past to herald important events (e.g. war, the taking of prisoners, religious rites), and are still used in Tonga today to announce church services. Steady, deep, mellow booms of the *lali* can be heard for miles. The *lali* in this photo is in front of the Free Church of Tonga in Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.

Na'e ngaue'aki foki e lali he taimi fuoloa ke tala 'aki ha tau, pe ko ha puke popula 'o ha ni'ihi, pe ko ha me'a fakalotu pe ngaahi me'amahu'inga pehe. Ko e ta eni 'o ha lali 'i he falelotu 'o e Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina 'i Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.



[G 50 J]

39: Gerstle & Ratte C.Q-4.5 (1963-1972) 1974 080 Tonga 080

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.
[577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans.
181 This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
805 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
794 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
177 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
[202] announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is, on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

181 /28 cont./
805 clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall
794 short of the prescribed length. (45)
177
(202)

45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not
771 inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)
177

46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
771 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
537

/79 cont./ The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is
585 examined and if it is /80/ stained with blood they fire a shot of joy
[202] with an old shotgun, or in some other way make known their pleasure that the bride's virginity has been proved. The sheet (or the sleep-tapa) is publicly displayed and then carried from the bridegroom's place to the place of the bride's mother. The contents of an immediately prepared earth oven, in addition to mats and tapa, are brought by the kinfolk of the young man to the family of the young wife--in recognition of the fact that her mother had carefully watched
[602] over her daughter. The young wife is kept on her sleeping place, is bathed by her relatives, combed and adorned, lovingly treated like a sick person and nursed with good food.--If the wished-for sign does not appear on the sheet, nothing happens the next morning. The young wife is then obliged to perform ordinary, everyday work, that is, rake leaves, cook, wash, etc. The villagers see this and know what has happened. (230)

230. A few Tongan maintain that for this reason "smart" girls who are no longer virgins arrange the date of their wedding (that is, the consummation of the marriage) to coincide with the days of their menstruation.

585 The last part of the wedding, however, is no longer common in
178 this form. Often the marriage is consummated the first night after the wedding, and many times the stained sheet is no longer displayed. Various Tongans who have some knowledge of European conditions reject this custom as being "low," barbaric.

[177] A few couples have recently also imitated the European example of the honeymoon by traveling to a small island after the wedding celebration.

585 On the whole, a great deal of ancient Tongan tradition has been
177 preserved in the wedding procedure. Indeed, the tradition seems to
178 the observer to be the essential, decisive element to which the civil

/86 cont./

764 and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
354 formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
177 is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
565 village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in
784 a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.
296 If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
622 Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
565 in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
794 This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs.
533 (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli).
202 Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

184 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

/258 cont./

534

690. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 172, 201; J. J. Labillardière, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../II. p. 134; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

Long, split bamboo pieces (691)

691. See Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 172; J. J. Labillardière, loc. cit. II. p. 134; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

and hardwood pieces (692)

692. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 329.

were struck with sticks to give the rhythm of the dance. The cylindrical slit-drums called nafa on which, with a rounded beater, gonglike tones of various pitches and tempo were produced, (693)

693. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. PP. 171, 205.

were important especially for the me'etu'upaki dance. In addition, the panpipe and the nose flute were known. The former consisted of eight to ten separate reed pipes of the same or different lengths, which were held together in apparently random order by coconut fiber twine; (694)

694. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 287; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 343.

this instrument seems to have been of no special importance for the [533] music of the Tongans. More important was the nose flute with five holes (made of bamboo) (695)

695. J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 267; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. pp. 343/344; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 332.

with the soft, quiet and somewhat melancholy tones of which certain songs were accompanied. (696)

696. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

[202] The conch shells (with a blowhole struck in) cannot be called musical

/258 cont./

534 instruments; they were used to give signals (as they sometimes are [202] even today).

534 178 [231] The rhythm-stampers, the beating sticks (697)

> 697. Very occasionally, however, one still sees on plantation land on the small islands two slim trunks lying over a pit; the natives drum on these with two sticks and produce various tones to call the chickens for feeding.

and the nafa slit-drums, as well as the panpipes are today no longer found in Tonga. There are only a very few examples of the nose flute in the Archipelago, and very rarely an aged native will bring out such an instrument and play a few tones on it; (698)

[162]

> 698. On the island of Nomuka (567 inhabitants), for example, there was only one nose flute in 1952, and its aged female owner was unable to play it; among the people there was only one man who was able to blow a short and incomplete melody on it.

very probably the nose flute, which was apparently seldom used even in Mariner's time (that is, at the beginning of the past century), will soon be forgotten.

534 /259/ To accompany the ma'ulu'ulu dance the Tongans in modern times have made a drum which they call nafa. This instrument that [177] is widespread today has only its name in common with the ancient Tongan nafa, which was a cylindrical slit-drum, for it consists of an old metal can with the bottom and top removed and the resulting open sides stretched with animal skin (of cow, horse or goat). This drum is beaten with sticks that have been made like European [178] kettledrum sticks. To accompany the me'etu'upaki, an old Tongan [202] dance, natives today use, instead of the nafa slit-drum customary in former times, the lali slit-drum, (699)

> 699. The lali are about 1.60 to 2.00 meters long

/259 cont./

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with a diameter of about 40-50 centimeters and a slit-width of about 30 to 40 centimeters. They are pieces of trunk of the fehi (Intsia bijuga), telie (Terminalia species), 'ifi (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb.), feta'u (Calophyllum inophyllum) or kau trees, and are hollowed out in such a way that the body of the drum extends a good handbreadth beyond the side walls that enclose the hollow. The drumsticks are carved in various sizes, usually out of the soft wood of the tuitui tree (Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.). It is possible that the lali was once upon a time borrowed from Fiji.

[197]

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which was originally a signal drum for wartime and still exists in large numbers on the islands and is sometimes still made, for it is used where there are no church bells to call together the church-goers to the services of the various village congregations, and in some places it is used to announce the start of school. At various dances the old drums and other instruments used for rhythm are replaced by ordinary tin cans beaten with sticks.

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For the rest, the natives have adopted various European musical instruments. Guitars especially are very popular; (700)

[162]

700. On Nomuka (567 inhabitants) were , for example, about 20 guitars in 1952, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) there were about 12.

they are played almost exclusively by young Tongans for group singing and also to accompany the tau'olunga and hula dances, for example. One seldom sees mandolins or violins. In almost every village today there are also a few mouth organs; the natives like to buy them shortly before Christmas from the shopkeeper and then organize a small mouth-organ orchestra for the holidays. Chiefly in the large towns there are brass bands founded by churches. Using European scores they play on special occasions, for instance at burials and

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[197]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side being much worn away from continual beating. Although the sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot. As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, "Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, "Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

103: Sanders G-3 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

225 though there are usually sharks about. The boy in the water dives quickly below to take the rope thrust down to him through the holes and then surfaces, bringing the end with him. The rope is drawn tight from above and then threaded down through the next set of holes. The boy dives again and brings up the rope end. This is repeated five or six times till the mouth is firmly stitched. Before leaving the water the young diver tests all the knots of the ropes for towing the whale and finally clambers aboard, his gay insouciance contrasting sharply with the sigh of relief aboard the launch.

[202] The whale was now made fast to the launch while the whale boats set off with black and white flags at their mastheads to take ahead the good news to Nuku'alofa. It was to be a long haul against wind and tide till we made the shelter of the harbour, but we had the master whaler aboard and his tales of a lifetime of fighting the whale made the voyage short. Nor did it matter that it was dark and chilly when at last we reached the port. For a day we had lifted the curtains on a century ago and seen that the spirit of the men who sailed with Ahab still lives on.

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A Visit to a Royal Tomb

by KEITH ARROWSMITH

WE STOOD outside the reed gate and waited for it to be opened. We could not see inside. After a time we feared that we were not going to gain admittance. Then we heard movement and the gate was pulled to one side. Through the gap we saw a very old and bearded man. He was the Omulinzi w'Egasani, the Keeper of the Tomb. No doubt because of his office he wore an old military tunic and a battered red fez. On his chest he wore some 1914-18 War medals, among which I noticed there were two duplicates. Also, and somewhat inexplicably in view of his obvious great age, he was adorned with the ribbons of the 1939-45 Medal and the Africa Star. The Tomb we had come to see was that of Kabarega, a former famous Omukama of the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara; and it seemed fitting that its keeper should be one who, we learnt, had seventy years ago served in his ranks.

Kabarega became Omukama in 1870. In 1872 he forced Sir Samuel Baker, the Governor-General of the Egyptian Province of Equatoria, to retreat from Bunyoro territory to the North of the Nile. He refrained from attacking Gordon, Baker's successor; and his relations with Emin Pash who was Governor of Equatoria from 1878 to 1889 were relatively cordial. In 1890 Captain Lugard arrived in Uganda. Whereas Baker, Gordon and Emin had come from the north, he approached Bunyoro from the east through Buganda. After some time he came to the conclusion that the only means by which peace could be ensured in the area was to conquer Kabarega. In 1893 he invaded the Kingdom with a force of 15,000 men, and overran the country. However, Kabarega remained undefeated, and harried the occupying forces with guerilla tactics. In 1895 a larger army took the field against him. This consisted of six Companies of Sudanese and twenty thousand Baganda troops. Kabarega managed to hold out until 1899 when he was